Workers of the World, Unite !

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REUTHER BREAKS FORD CANADA STRIKE

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119 MINERS MURDERED FOR PROFITS

Steel Strike Off; Murray Bows To Truman Threat

By Cy Thomas

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Unnerved by Truman's threat to "use whatever laws there are on the books to prevent a strike," CIO Steelworkers president Philip Murray announced tonight that his Wage Policy Committee had called off the steel walkout scheduled for Jan. 1.

Action on Truman's request that the dispute be submitted to the Wage Stabilization Board has been referred to the special union convention called for Jan. 3.

SAVING FACE

Murray's wage policy committee statement calling off the strike stated that "the convention is the only agency in the union which can make final answer to the president's request, since it has been specially called to deal with the present situation." This face-saving formula is intended to mask Murray's cowardly capitulation to Truman's strike-breaking ultimatum.

The wage policy committee had the authority to call a strike if no satisfactory agreement was reached before Jan. 1. In the past the committee would "authorize" Murray to order a walkout if he deemed it necessary. This time he was "instructed" to issue a strike call for midnight Dec. 31 by vote of the committee which declared the steel workers would not work "in the absence of mutually satisfactory contracts."

TWISTED AROUND

The special convention was called to mobilize the union for the inevitable showdown fight anticipated as a result of a nationwide steel strike and not to "answer the president's request" for submission to the WSB wage freezers. The union was alerted for strike action. Strike preparations proceeded in the local unions. No one questioned the "authority" of the union policy committee until Truman threatened to sick the law on the steel workers.

It was then Murray suddenly discovered that only the convention could "deal with the situation." His failure to comment on Truman's flagrant strikebreaking threat was interpreted as a signal to retreat. Strike preparations in the local unions virtually ceased. Reports in the press that Murray had caved in gained credence. Confirmation came with the action of the wage policy committee calling off the strike.

LONG ON TALK

Murray talked a good fight — but when it came to action he folded like an accordion before the first blow was struck. His speeches last month at the CIO convention crackled with heated denunciation of the wage stabilization fraud. "The working population of the United States of America," he declared, "is in no mood to accept a one-sided discriminatory system of regulation that operates only against those who work and work hard for a living."

Murray vowed he was ready to endure "whatever hazards are incident" to the fight against the discriminatory wage freeze. He was prepared to fight everybody but "labor's friend" in the White House. And Truman, knowing that Murray was firmly committed to his support, felt free to lash out at the steelworkers without fear of retaliation.

So long as Murray remains tied to Truman's apron strings he cannot be trusted to lead an effective fight for the contract demands of the steel workers. It's up to the steel convention to chart a new course of independent action on the economic and political field. The first step must be a complete break with strike-breaker Truman.

GUILTY!

Coal Operators, Government Guilty of Another Atrocity; Lewis May Call "Holiday"

By Art Preis

Another 119 coal miners have been murdered for profits. The men who died in the Dec. 21 explosion at the New Orient Mine No. 2 of the Chicago, Wilmington & Franklin Coal Co. near West Frankfort, Ill., were slain by the greed of the coal operators, aided and abetted by the capitalist government. It was murder as much as if these workers had been deliberately slaughtered with TNT, napalm bombs and poison gas.

What set off the explosion — a spark struck off by metal on rock, the friction of machinery, spontaneous combustion — is a mystery, says Walter Eadie, State Mine Director in Illinois. But it's no mystery that there was enough deadly methane — what the miners call "marsh-gas" — to wreck most of the mine.

Back last July, two inspectors of the Federal Bureau of Mines, W. R. Chick and C. L. South, had urged that the company seal up or ventilate abandoned workings in which huge pockets of gas were collecting. A federal mine inspection crew designated the mine "gassy" and reported the detection of more than 0.25 per cent methane gas.

But the company refused to comply with the mine bureau's recommendations. John R. Foster, mine superintendent, admitted, according to the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch**, that his company ignored the federal bureau's findings.

To Foster and the company, 'These are strictly controversial matters." He added: "In this coal field, the federal recommendation with regard to reusing air is not followed. The state in its code does not require compliance along that line."

The federal agency has no power to enforce its regulations. But there is not evidence that any effort even to publicize the situation in the New Orient Mine No. 2 or hundreds of other dangerous coal mines in the coal areas was made by the federal bureau, Secretary of the Interior Chapman, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois or anybody else in Washington.

The Illinois Dept. Mines and Minerals does have power to close down unsafe mines. This was not done because the state agency is nothing but a tool of the coal companies. The state inspectors, as late as Dec. 11, gave the mine a clean bill of health, although they must certainly have been aware of the conditions reported by the federal bureau.

Walter Eadie, state director of mines and minerals, "happens" to have been the superintendent of the New Orient Mine No. 2 at the time he was appointed to his state post by "labor's friend," Democrat Gov. Adlai Stevenson. Stevenson was elected in 1948 in part on a promise to enforce mine safety after the 1947 Centralia disaster which snuffed out 111 lives during the Republican administration of Gov. Green.

There is speculation, at this writing, that John L. Lewis, who flew to the scene of the West Frankfort disaster, may call out the 450,000 members of the United Mine Workers for a memorial "holiday" of five or more days, similar to the walkout following the Centralia explosion. Several thousand miners have already left the pits spontaneously in three states, most of them in Southern Illinois.

Lewis stated that if the members of Congress who have blocked effective mine-safety legislation could "look into the faces of these terribly mangled mine workers who have died at Orient No. 2 . . . they might be induced to permit coal miners to continue to live. . ."

In this, Lewis is gravely mistaken. These congressmen could look on scenes a thousand times more ghastly and not be moved. They are the political agents of the coal operators and the capitalist class as a whole. They are in office to protect profits, not safeguard workers' lives. That is why, year after year for decades, under Democrats or Republicans, the terrible mine slaughter and maiming goes on. Not until labor has its own party and runs the government will effective mine-safety laws be passed and enforced.

NATIONALIZE THE MINES!

An Editorial

The mine disaster that turned Christmas wreaths into mourning wreaths at West Frankfort, Ill., raises anew and with frightful urgency the question of whether the private coal operators shall be permitted to go on with their wholesale murder of innocent working men.

Mining under the best conditions is hazardous. But the callous indifference to workers' safety consistently shown by the capitalist mine operators is responsible for the staggering toll of injuries and deaths that afflicts the coal industry every year. To the mine owners and their political agents, workers are "expendable," profits are not.

We are not here arguing the economic advantages of nationalization of the coal industry, although these would be enormous in terms of higher pay for the miners and cheaper coal for the consumers. What does concern us is the protection nationalization would afford for the lives and limbs of the miners.

Without the profit motive, there would be no compulsion to place dollars ahead of human safety. If the mines were owned by the government and controlled by the workers themselves, we can be sure the workers would see to it that every safety precaution and device is employed.

No more West Frankfort and Centralia atrocities! Nationalize the mines under workers control!

409 More U. S. Korea Casualties

Despite the lull in the undeclared war in Korea, U.S. casualties rose 409 since last week, bringing the total to 103,418.

These figures do not include many more casualties of a "non-combat" nature such as the many amputations in cases of trench foot and frost bite.

The 30-day period fixed earlier in the truce negotiations has now elapsed. Despite repeated concessions by Chinese and North Korean negotiators, the U.S. brass hats have stalled off a settlement. The press reports the White House is leaving it up to General Ridgway to decide on possible extension of the 30 day period. Whether the lull in the fighting will continue or whether American lives will once more be thrown away in offensives is in the hands of a professional militarist. The American people want to get out of the reactionary war in Korea. The only way to stop the slaughter is to demand that all U.S. troops be brought home at once.

Negro Leader Killed for Fighting Florida Frameup

Jim Crow terrorism claimed another Southern Negro victim on Christmas night when Harry T. Moore was murdered by a bomb explosion that blew up half of his home at Mims, Fla. His wife, Harriet, also severely injured, may survive. His daughter and mother, asleep in another part of the house, escaped injury.

Moore had been a prominent leader in the Negro struggle for many years. He had been fired as a school principal because he participated in a fight for equalization of white and Negro teachers' salaries. As executive secretary of the Florida Progressive Voters League, he led a number of court battles for recognition of Negroes' right to vote.

But it is believed that he was murdered because as state coordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he was active in defending the victims of the Groveland "rape" frameup and in demanding the punishment of Sheriff Willis McCall for the sadistic shooting of Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin last November.

The Christmas bombing was the latest in a series of similar outrages committed in various parts of Florida in recent weeks. Bombs have been thrown or placed in ten different Miami buildings, including a Negro housing project, Jewish synagogues and a Catholic church.

The failure of federal and state authorities to apprehend the terrorists in these cases has emboldened them to continue and extend their crimes. As in the past, the Department of Justice is promising to investigate to determine if anyone's "federal civil rights" have been violated in the Moore murder.

The Truman administration brings the full power and resources of the government to bear in its persecution of radical and minority political groups, but it is indifferent and pretends helplessness in the face of a widespread Ku Klux conspiracy to beat, bomb and shoot the Negro people into submission and acceptance of second-class citizenship.

Harry T. Moore is a martyr in the struggle for a better world. His mother reveals that when she sought to persuade him to discontinue his activities, he replied: "Every advancement comes by way of sacrifice, and if I sacrifice my life or my health I still think it is my duty for my race."

And it is the duty of every enemy of Jim Crow terrorism to avenge the murder of Harry Moore. This can be done by exerting merciless pressure on the Truman administration for the punishment of his killers through mass action and mass demonstrations imbued with the same determination to abolish Jim Crow that animated Harry Moore's life.

(See editorial on Page 3.)

CONRAD LYNN TO TOUR U.S. ON REYNOLDS CASE

By George Lavan

"I shall file a writ of **habeas corpus** in San Juan, Puerto Rico in the next few weeks in the Ruth Reynolds case," Conrad J. Lynn, attorney for the American woman pacifist now serving a prison term at hard labor, told the **Militant.**

The Negro attorney, prominent in the civil rights fight, went on to explain that the trial of Paulino Castro, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Nacionalista Party, had just ended in a mistrial. The defense had proved that the jury panel was not freely picked but was composed of professional jurors. "Five of the jurors who turned up on the panel in the Castro case were members of the jury that convicted Ruth Reynolds. With such professional jurors a fair trial for her was impossible and that explains her conviction on a charge of which she was innocent." Ruth Reynolds, a principled pacifist and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for 12 years, was convicted of attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence.

She was tried in the period of hysteria which followed the "revolt" of the Nacionalista Party in November 1950. Defenders of the Nacionalistas state that the alleged revolt was a frame-up, that actually the regime started a campaign of mass arrests of Nacionalistas in preparation for a referendum on a Constitution for the U.S. colony. They say that the Nacionalistas took up arms only in self-defense when the police and troops attacked their meetings, headquarters and homes.

The Nacionalistas are conducting the defense of their own members. Ruth Reynolds, who never belonged to their organization, though she was friendly with many of its members, is being defended by an independent committee. A. J. Muste and others prominent in the pacifist movement belong to this committee.

In September 1951 Ruth Reynolds was sentenced to two to six years at hard labor for violation of Insular Law 53, which is an exact translation of the Smith Act. The prosecution charged that at a mass meeting she took an oath to support the Nacionalista demand for Puerto Rican independence. This mass meeting took place in 1949 and was called to raise money for defense of Nacionalista youth who had refused to register for the draft. As a pacifist Miss Reynolds was interested in such cases. When nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos spoke he urged that applause and words were not enough that he wanted those who would really contribute money to the defense of the Selective Service violators to stand up. At the trial this was twisted into a swearing of allegiance to the Nacionalista Party. Miss Reynolds, however, had no money to contribute and consequently was not one of those to stand up. Nonetheless she was convicted on testimony of the notoriously dishonest political

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Two Great Lessons of 1951

End Wage Freeze; Break with Truman

By Thomas Raymond

The year 1951 opened with the promulgation of the government wage-freeze last January, and closed with a challenge to that wage-freeze on the part of over a million steel workers. Between these two events came the unprecedentd resignation of all labor members from government war agencies and the calling of a national United Labor Conference in Washington on March 21.

THE YEAR FOR LABOR

Thus while 1951 was not marked by great labor strike struggles, events of the year clearly foreshadow the coming social crisis in America.

The issue of the year has been the wage-freeze. The workers have not been willing to reconcile themselves to any freeze on wages while prices and taxes mount skyward. The union officialdom has also opposed the wage-freeze, reflecting, in this stand, the sentiments of the ranks. However, the Murray-Green policy of supporting the Truman administration and its war program has prevented the unions from developing a real offensive against discriminatory wage controls. The politics of the union leaders have repeatedly clashed with the needs of the ranks.

THE WAGE-FREEZE

The government wage-freeze order was made effective on Jan. 25, 1951. Under this order, all contracts between unions and employers signed after that date were to be reviewed by the Wage Stabilization Board. Wage increases were to be restricted to 10% above the pay level of Jan. 10, 1950.

The Truman administration indicated that it intends to hold workers' wages within this limit, despite the rise of both prices and profits to the highest levels in history. In addition, within a few days after the wage-freeze order, Truman asked Congress for $10 billion in extra taxes, over and above the already heavy taxes on the working people.

In the meanwhile, top government offices were being heavily staffed with corporation officials. Charles E. Wilson, at the top of the whole government pyramid, is the former president of the General Electric Corporation. A few days before his appointment, Attorney-General McGrath had asked a federal court to postpone action for five years on anti-trust charges against his company. Murray Kempton, N. Y.

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See Page 2 for articles reviewing 1951 trends in struggle for civil liberties and Negro rights.

Stop Support of U.S. Foreign Policy

By John G Wright

The year 1951 saw virtually the entire colonial world swept by the revolt of the Asian and Arab people against colonial rule, against imperialism and by this token against U.S. foreign policy. This same year, which passed entirely under the sign of "national emergency" by President Truman, marked the second year of crisis for the entire capitalist system, and especially for American capitalism.

This acute world crisis, about to enter its 20th month, assumed its open forms in June 1950 when the power-drunk American imperialists plunged into their Korean adventure, confident of a mere "police action," that is, of an easy victory. Instead they found themselves entangled in a large-scale war, extremely costly in men and materiel, and politically even more damaging.

They plunged into Korea for reasons entirely different from those they advance in public. Their aim was to teach the Korean people, and through them the Asian people and the rest of the colonial world, that Wall Street's government in Washington is the real master in the Pacific and over our whole planet.

It was to be the easiest of easy lessons, so believed Truman and with him all the generals in the Pentagon together with all the civilian strategists of the billionaires. In the same confident vein, the "genius" MacArthur promised the GIs they would be back home by Christmas 1950.

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Notebook of an Agitator

TENTATIVE ACTION ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS FRONT

All who are informed on world affairs know the the United States today is the most undemocratic country still maintaining the outward democratic forms of government There is far more freedom in Britain and France today than in Lincoln's "new nation conceived in liberty;" not only in the formal legal sense but also in the general atmosphere; not only more freedom of discussion but also more freedom of thought. Even in Italy, whose people almost lost the memory of freedom in more than two decades of fascism, there is more respect for the right of opinion and free discussion than here.

The United States has enacted the most barbarous legislation and is brutally enforcing it — mainly, at first, against the Communist Party. But reaction is not confined to the legal field. The dominant powers are waging a psychological war against free thought and dissenting opinion on a scale that goes far beyond the legal suppression — and prepares the ground for its intensification and expansion.

Reaction on Offensive

Ever since the beginning of the cold war, brutal and ignorant reaction has been on the offensive. The raging witch-hunt has invaded the schools and the trade unions, and so far has met little or no opposition. Indeed, the labor leaders who could easily be the next victims of a mounting reaction, as the tragic experience of Germany in the 30's so clearly demonstrated, gave at least left-handed support to the witch-hunt and rode on it in their internal fight with the Stalinists. Even the voice of American liberalism, when it has been heard at all, has been frightened, timid and weak. Opposition to the witch-hunt has been paralyzed.

The basic factor, paralyzing the traditional defenders of constitutional rights, has been their support of the administration's foreign policy, which is a policy of war and world conquest. Civil rights can hardly prosper under the domination of such a policy. The Truman administration, which directs both the foreign policy and its domestic implementation — the "loyalty" oaths and purges and the prosecutions — has had at least the virtue of greater consistency. Politicians never see any reason to pay for votes they can get for nothing. Support for the main line, pledged in advance, has robbed the modest requests for civil liberty of their bargaining power.

Nevertheless, a considerable and growing concern about the increasing invasion of constitutional rights is to be noted among wide circles of people. Various reasons motivate this concern. Some, who have nothing to do with radicalism, or any thought of it, consider it unwise to scrap the Constitution all at once. They fear excesses which could cause a revolutionary rebound and deal damaging blows to the social system which they support. Some of the sharpest and clearest expressions have been heard on the right.

Federal judges are counted, with good reason, among the most conservative representatives of the existing social order. It is rather ironical, therefore, that the first serious note of opposition to the unbridled disregard of constitutional rights and regulations came from a number of them. This has been particularly demonstrated in decisions overruling the lower courts in the matter of bail. In the general hysteria, these lower courts yielded to the demands of Truman's prosecutors and fixed the bail of the indicted Communist Party leaders at unreasonable figures which they couldn't possibly meet. The honorable judges of the higher courts have stated that exorbitant bail means, in effect, imprisonment without trial. And that, of course, is precisely what Truman's prosecutors intended it to mean. We are glad to see the federal judges take this position, whatever their reasons may be.

First Good Signs

All the more to be welcomed are the recent signs of uneasiness and concern in circles which have traditionally stood for free speech and fair trial. The first good sign of a new awareness and intention to do something was the announcement of the formation a short while ago of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Professor Paul Lehman, Acting Chairman, and James Imbrie, Acting Secretary. Their declared intention to give active defense to all groups and individuals whose rights are violated by the mad dogs of reaction, regardless of their political opinions, was certainly an important step forward

Following that, the 13th CIO Convention condemned the Smith and McCarran Acts. The adopted resolution deplored the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the conviction of the Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act as "a grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech." I wouldn't give much for the enthusiasm and energy of the CIO leaders in implementing this resolution by an earnest fight in the next stage of developments. They left out the main thing: a demand for the release of the imprisoned Stalinists and an end to prosecutions under the Smith Act. But the adopted resolution has its own logic, and may prepare the way to more important action.

Now comes a welcome, if belated, declaration of Americans for Democratic Action that they will fight for the repeal of the Smith Act "because it proposes to prosecute people for what they think and say rather than what they do." The ADA further says that it proposes, "together with the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, and other non-Communist organizations which have condemned the Smith Act, to fight for its repeal and for the reaffirmation by Congress of our basic freedoms." They also neglected to mention the most important point: the release of the imprisoned Stalinists.

The Real Issue

All these moves are timid and tentative, but they go in the right direction. The ADA, like the others, would limit its cooperation to "non-Communist organizations." That's up to them, I suppose. We can't object to people choosing their associates and working for a good cause in their own way and in their own field. But they will not get very far, or do very much for civil rights, until they face the real issue of the witch-hunt as it stands today.

That is open and active defense of Stalinists who — in the given circumstances of the cold war — are the first and main victims. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, to its credit, has taken a clear position on this crucial point. There is not much value in talking about defending civil rights unless one is willing to defend the victims of their violation. The truth is always concrete, and so are civil rights.

— J. P. C.

Anti-Negro Violence Increased in 1951

By Albert Parker

A sharp increase in the number of Jim Crow murders by brutal cops was the most alarming development in the Negro struggle during 1951. Old-style lynchings have aroused so much indignation and protest at home and abroad that the white supremacists are now making greater use of police violence in order to terrorize the Negro people and keep them "in their place."

Nobody knows exactly how many Negroes were murdered by cops in 1951; only figures of "formal" lynchings are compiled. But what is known points to a steep rise in such killings, in the North as well as the South. The following are only a few of the better publicized cases:

Henry Fields and Edwin Gonzales, a Puerto Rican, shot in cold blood in New York City; Robert Kelly, shot in cold blood in Trenton; Samuel Shepherd, shot in cold blood (along with Walter Irvin) in Lake County, Fla., on their way to a hearing for a new trial ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Groveland "rape" frameup; John Lester Mitchell, shot in cold blood in Opelousas, La., for daring to go to court for protection of his right to register and vote; William Harvey, shot in cold blood by a ship's officer at sea.

Those were killings. In addition, there were thousands of cases where Negroes were brutally beaten and arrested by police only because of the color of their skin.

"LEGAL MURDER"

The United Auto Workers International Executive Board correctly described the situation as "an intensification of terroristic aggression against Negroes by officers charged with upholding and enforcement of the law." Twenty members of the Psychology Department of the City College of New York noted that the pattern for denying Negroes their constitutional rights had shifted from mob violence "to the more subtle forms of quasi-legal executions or violence at the hands of 'law enforcement' officers," thus giving "the aura of official sanction to racial murders."

The educators warned that "only the most immediate and strongest action of the federal government can prevent the legal murder of a great many more Negroes in the near future."

But the federal government took no action whatever. Not one killer with a cop's badge was punished for "legal murder." That is one reason why police brutality will remain an outstanding problem and menace for the enemies of Jim Crow in 1952.

"LEGAL LYNCHINGS"

Besides "legal murder" by cops, the ruling class made ample use of legal lynchings inside the courts to paralyze and silence the Negro struggle. The Martinsville Seven were executed in Virginia on a "rape" frameup. Willie McGee was executed in Mississippi on a similar charge. Walter Irvin will go on trial for his life next month in Florida for the same thing. The trial of the Trenton Six ended in acquittal of four innocent defendants, and re-conviction of equally innocent Collis English and Ralph Cooper.

Negro-owned homes were bombed in Chicago, Alabama, Georgia and Florida. A building was wrecked by a racist-inspired mob in Cicero, Ill., when Harvey Clark and his family tried to move in. The exceptional thing about the Cicero case was that the courts, under pressure of world wide protest, finally indicted seven officials for their role in this outrage. Whether they will actually be convicted and punished for their crimes remains to be seen.

In the fields of segregation and discrimination there were no important changes in 1951. The Truman administration continued to talk about the "progress" it was making in "reducing" segregation in the armed forces, but Negro servicemen were still Jim Crowed in the U.S. and overseas, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People bitterly protested the anti-Negro bias practiced in court-martial proceedings in the Far East.

NO FEPC

Toward the end of the year increasing pressure was exerted on Truman for an executive order to establish an FEPC. Despite fierce redbaiting, the National Negro Labor Council held a successful founding convention in Cincinnati, indicating the possibilities for militant action by the Negro people for equal rights in employment. The CIO called on Truman to issue an FEPC order at the same time that it instructed its affiliates to make stronger efforts to fight Jim Crow at the hiring gate. The NAACP also asked Truman to act after Congress refused to do anything about FEPC.

But Truman, preparing for next year's election and a reconciliation with the Dixiecrats, was engaged in junking the civil rights promises his party had made in the 1948 campaign. Instead of an FEPC able to do something, he set up a meaningless, powerless Committee on Government Contract Compliance

Protection against Jim Crow terror, abolition of segregation, attainment of economic equality — the problems that face the Negro people in 1952 — are all political problems. The experience of 1951 proved once again that they cannot be solved within the framework of the capitalist parties that are devoted to maintaining the profit system that breeds and nurtures Jim Crow oppression. The road to equality can be reached only through the path of independent labor and Negro political action.

Fund Has A Good Week, Total Is Raised to 60%

$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	$ 75	$ 71	95
St. Louis	100	95	95
Milwaukee	250	226	91
Flint	350	291	83
Newark	500	403	81
Cleveland	300	241	80
Seattle	400	314	79
Chicago	1,000	781	78
Akron	150	114	76
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	718	72
Philadelphia	400	247	62
Detroit	1,500	905	60
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
Buffalo	1,000	592	59
New York	5,000	2,920	58
Los Angeles	2,600	1,438	55
Youngstown	350	156	45
Boston	550	241	44
Toledo	50	20	40
San Francisco	1,000	285	29
Oakland	150	21	14
Allentown	75	0	0
General	1,150	655	58
Total through Dec. 26	$18,000	$10,764	60

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party shifted into high gear this week, scoring the biggest weekly payment since the launching of the Organization and Press fund ten weeks ago. The weekly receipts totaled $1,761, raising the total paid through Dec. 26 to $10,764 or 60% of the national quota. Although we gained 2% over last week, the campaign is still 17% behind schedule — and only three weeks to go. This means that the on-schedule branches will have to keep their pace and the lagging branches will really have to hustle.

Connecticut and **St. Louis** bolted ahead to tie for first place in this week's scoreboard with 95% of their quotas. Here's how it happened. **A. Arbeiter** rushed in $20 for **St. Louis** and Comrade **Morris** sent in $9 for **Connecticut.** Then **Nick Lyons**, a good friend of the Connecticut branch, sent in $10 and this note: "I notice that Connecticut is somewhat behind in the fund campaign. This contribution is for the purpose of bringing the group up to pro-rata standing." It did the trick, Comrade Lyons.

Milwaukee shot from tenth to third place with two payments totaling $79, and is pounding toward the goal at a fast clip. **Francis DeWolfe**, fund director for the branch, says, "Our fears that other Xmas season financial obligations would detract from pledge payments to the fund have happily vanished."

Two payments amounting to $72 placed **Flint** fourth with 83% of its quota. "This makes a total of $291 sent in," writes Comrade **Genora**, "with $51 or better from sympathizers. With the purchasing power of the paycheck shrinking so fast, a worker is pretty serious when he contributes a couple of bucks to **The Militant.** With these kind of people around the party and the devotion of our members, we can't help but meet our quota."

Comrade **Almeda** sent in $10, "the result of a collection at one of our public meetings," which keeps **Cleveland** ahead of schedule with 80% of its quota.

Seattle pushed ahead with two payments totaling $92 or 79%.

Chicago maintained its ahead-of-schedule record despite hazardous traveling that cut down the size of its membership meeting. Comrade **Hildegarde** forwarded $70 with this mild complaint: "This is a little short of the 80% we should make this week, but we had a small meeting last night. What a night! When Chicago really puts on its winter 'wonderland' it is hell on wheels."

The **Twin Cities** boosted their percentage to 72 this week with $51 from **Minneapolis** and $20 from **St. Paul.**

"We are proud to send you $65.50," writes **Alma Seton** for the **Philadelphia** comrades, "we seem to be 'on the beam' now. We're planning, also, to use the proceeds from our New Year's Eve social as payment on our pledge." Philadelphia now has 62% of its quota.

Detroit's $78 check completes 60% of its quota. Comrade **Marietta** says, "We're plugging along."

Buffalo scored a $72 gain this week, reaching 59% of its $1,000 quota; **New York** moved ahead to 58% with payments amounting to $517.

Lil Charles mailed in $200 for **Los Angeles.** "It should be more," she says, "but Christmas seems to have worsened the financial problem all the way around." **Myra Tanner Weiss** adds this P.S.: Money seems to be coming in agonizingly, but we shall fill quota by deadline — by borrowing."

The **San Francisco** comrades, moving ahead against great financial odds, sent in $90 this week which raised their percentage to 29.

Remember! The campaign deadline is Jan. 15. That's only three weeks. Let's step it up!

TO END WAGE FREEZE BREAK WITH TRUMAN

(Continued from page 1)

Post labor columnist, wrote: "A single corporation—the telephone industry—has more personnel in important government posts today than the entire labor movement."

Thus, by January 1951, the capitalists had their governmental labor program laid out and a capitalist personnel installed to administer it. But no sooner was the setup completed, than the challenges began to come from the labor movement.

At the beginning of February came the widespread "sick report" walkout of railroad yardmen throughout the nation, to back up demands for a 40 hour week and a raise in pay.

STRIKEBREAKING

Truman ordered troops out and broke the strike, the fifth strike of railroad workers he had broken in five years. No sooner was this chapter closed than a new one opened: The top officials of the labor movement began to resist the whole "stabilization" program. On Feb. 16, the three labor members of the Wage Stabilization Board quit the board, saying of the wage-freeze formula: "That formula culminated in a whole series of shocking developments which we find insupportable. . . . It is a symptom of unconcern for the needs and welfare of the plain people of this country."

By Feb. 28, all labor representatives were withdrawn from war mobilization agencies. In a statement by the United Labor Policy Committee, the trade union officialdom castigated the government program on every count. "We are today confronted with a price order which amounts to legalized robbery of every American consumer. . . . There has been no affirmative action" for "equality of sacrifice."

"WINDOW DRESSING"

"We have also arrived at the inescapable conclusion," the United Labor Policy Committee said, "that such representation which already has been accorded to labor. . . and such further representation as is now offered are merely for the purpose of window-dressing. Mr. Wilson would now accept window dressing, supplied by labor, to cover the back room activities of the leaders of industry who staff the Office of Defense Mobilization. He will get no such window dressing from the men and women of American labor."

On March 21, 1951, a national United Labor Conference, restricted to 700 delegates by the top union officialdom who feared to give the ranks their head, met in Washington. The labor movement reacted militantly throughout the country. The working people showed they would support a complete break with the administration and a direct fight to bring down prices and raise wages.

Truman gave immediate support to Wilson against labor, and Wilson, after seeing Truman at Key West, Fla., told reporters that: "Nothing and nobody must interfere with the development of the mobilization program."

Having led the army of labor to the point of a militant fight, the official union leadership now showed its true colors by backing down. Where, in February, the union leaders insisted that American labor would not furnish "window dressing" to the capitalists on the government boards, by April, the union leaders were back on the boards in that very capacity: as window dressing.

A CAPITULATION

The "solution" which the labor leadership found was really no solution at all, but a capitulation. The CIO and AFL heads settled for some minor concessions, which left everything much as it had been before. There still was no "affirmative action for equality of sacrifice." This was revealed as wage cases piled up before the WSB. The government-industry coalition showed every intention of continuing to hold wages down while permitting and even encouraging prices to skyrocket.

At the United Automobile Workers convention in Cleveland in April, a left wing sentiment revealed itself in the debate on the Korean war and on the Labor Party resolution. Delegates arising to attack the U.S. imperialist "police action" in Korea received a sympathetic hearing from the auto workers. A minority resolution on political action called for the immediate formation of an independent Labor Party. Despite bitter and demagogic efforts by Walter Reuther, the convention still cast about 20% of its votes for the labor party resolution.

Three United Auto Workers strikes in the latter part of the year, the Douglas, Wright and Borg-Warner strikes, showed the explosive pressure of the ranks against the decline in living and working standards. Other striking workers, in Westinghouse and on the New York docks, challenged the government's "stabilization" hoax. While, in all of these strikes, other issues played a big role, the central effort of the workers has been to break the wage-freeze and blaze the trail for a new round of wage increases to try to catch up with mounting prices and taxes.

NOT BROKEN YET

The wage-freeze has not as yet been broken, and the New Year starts with the greatest effort of the labor movement to do this job, the steel battle.

1951 proved the helplessness of the labor movement so long as it restricts itself to partial measures and half-way actions. As the war economy, like an inexorable vise, squeezes tighter, the workers will begin the struggle to escape from the iron grip. If the present leaders of labor do not lead the struggle, they will be pushed aside.

Stop Backing U.S. Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

Christmas 1951 still found them in the foxholes.

In every respect Korea has proved to be one of the costliest miscalculations on record. Instead of checking the colonial revolution, Washington's intervention in Korea had just the opposite effect.

YEAR OF DEFEAT

For the imperialists here and abroad, the year 1951 was a year of paralyzing defeats on one front after another in the colonial world — from Korea through Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines and into Iran, Egypt, Morocco, with the whole of North Africa and the rest of the Middle East ready to follow suit.

The savage reaction of the American imperialists to all the defeats suffered in 1951 is plain enough for the most gullible to see and understand.

Foiled in their Korean venture, these arrogant pretenders to world dominion proceeded to batter and bomb into dust what was still left standing in the Korean countryside. Neither the native civilian population nor the American troops were spared. The long casualty lists, which grew longer each week even during the cease-fire negotiations, passed the 100,000 mark before Christmas 1951. These are the officially admitted casualties. The real list is easily twice as large.

This ugliest and dirtiest of wars was unpopular from the outset with the civilians at home as well as the soldiers overseas. And what is most shameful in this situation was that the organized labor movement in this country still remained committed to the support of the Korean war, along with the rest of Wall Street's foreign policy.

It was not in Korea alone that the American imperialists reacted ruthlessly and savagely. Dropping its previous "democratic," "humanitarian," "anti-colonial," etc. pretenses, the U.S. State Department moved more and more openly last year in support of the British and French colonial despots, and by this token, toward a head-on collision with the insurgent colonial people both in the Far East and in the Middle East.

In increasing volume munitions, supplies and military missions, were dispatched to the corrupt and bankrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and to the French in Indo-China, while "moral" backing was supplied the British in Iran and then in Egypt, and more recently, again to the French in Morocco.

In all these cases, too, there came not a whisper of protest, let alone condemnation, from the American labor movement.

The seizure of the vast Suez Canal zone in Egypt by the British differs only in degree but not in substance from the predatory onslaught by Mussolini on Abyssinia in the days before World War II. News came almost daily from Egypt of slaughter of civilians by the British. Dispatches from Cairo, for example, told how the British celebrated the eve of Yuletide by shooting down five Egyptians in cold blood at "near-by Sweetwater Canal."

LABOR OFFICIALS MUM

But in 1951 the American labor officialdom kept mum about this as it did about all the other atrocities perpetrated either directly by American imperialism or with its avowed sanction.

Hatred for the old colonial tyrants continued last year to swell the rising tide of anti-Americanism in the colonial world. The United States was fast becoming the most hated nation among hundreds of millions of Asian and Arab people. They tended more and more to draw no distinction whatever between their natural allies and their mortal enemies, between the mass of the American people, in the first instance the American workers, and the tiny handful of plutocrats and militarists. And how could they? The true voice of American labor was stilled while on the record it remained a supporter of U.S. foreign policy.

One of the greatest evils that could befall the American workers and poor farmers would be to incur the lasting enmity of these vast legions of the downtrodden and oppressed among the Asian and Arab people. Yet labor support of U.S. foreign policy can lead to no other result.

The people of Western Europe likewise received last year a clear view of the bared fangs of American imperialism.

The Europeans saw their governments, under Washington's prodding, try to pile crushing arms programs upon their economies, so shattered and war-torn that living standards fell far below prewar levels and tended to sink even without a diversion to military production.

The Europeans watched Washington rushing to embrace the butcher Franco in Spain; they heard nothing from across the Atlantic except some weak bleats of protest from a few official labor leaders while the others remained silent.

Abroad, the episode with the Vatican did not pass unnoted, either. In the storm of protest against Truman's nomination of an active general as a full-dress Ambassador to the Holy See it was not the voice of labor that was predominant but that of the Protestant clergy.

But what spread the greatest alarm throughout the world last year were Washington's open war moves, its whole arms program and particularly its steps to remilitarize Japan and West Germany hand in glove with the militarists of the Mikado and of Hitler. This natural apprehension found little, if any, articulate expression in the ranks of American labor, least of all, among its top circles.

LABOR FAILURE

American labor failed to break in 1951 with the foreign policy of the Truman administration and the monopolists whom this administration represents and serves. This was one of the bleakest aspects of the year that has passed.

The young giant of American labor, with its glorious fighting traditions, found itself completely out of step with the great bulk of mankind, the colonial slaves of yesterday who refuse any longer to be slaves. Nor is this all. Owing to the false and fatal attitude of the officialdom, 15-million workers organized in the CIO, AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods and independent unions are likewise out of step with the majority of the American people. For in 1951 the popular resentment against the Korean war, as poll after poll showed, mounted to new highs. Seven out of every ten among those polled wanted an end to the war.

From all indications the capitalist rulers of the U.S. have other defeats in store for them in the coming year. But, so long as labor remains tied to U.S. foreign policy, this will not deter the imperialists from their war course. On the contrary, it will make them all the more reckless, ruthless and savage. That is why American labor cannot afford to allow another year to pass before resolving upon and carrying out the unpostponable task of breaking with the foreign policy of American capitalism.

Reader Comments On Adams Series

Mr. Harry Frankel: I am indeed very glad that you devote your precious time and energy to the outstanding figure Samuel Adams in the American Revolution. You certainly give a perfect description of his revolutionary tendencies and he fully deserves this tribute. I agree with you that the revolution took on a very serious aspect when Sam Adams came on the scene. Because of his competent leadership, his rational reasoning and his democratic nature he gained prestige.

However, while Adams' popularity was greater than Otis, it must be remembered that James Otis' pamphlets not only influenced the colonies to revolt against English oppression, but also laid a broad basis for American political theory on natural law.

Otis had some practical ideas and sincere aims. His careful study of the economic aspect of the revolution opened his eyes and made him see the truth; namely, that the struggle was to protect only colonial magnates from British rule. Independence would protect and promote their commercial and industrial interests. Otis was wondering if it was worthwhile sacrificing the masses for the benefit of the American exploiters. He had enough foresight to understand that the revolution would end to the advantage of the capitalistic rulers.

The revolution consequently was a disappointment. The working people and farmers had no representatives at the constitutional convention. Alexander Hamilton, who was prejudiced to the masses and called them a "beast," was the influential figure in the shaping of the Constitution. As a result the soldiers who fought for freedom did not get paid and suffered starvation The poor farmers lost their possessions because they could not pay taxes, and they said, "This is not at all what we were fighting for." All this culminated in protests, in uprisings, and in Shays' Rebellion.

My opinion is if Otis was not 100 percent right he was indeed methodical. He was a scholar, and was endowed with literary and oratorical talent. Unfortunately he was not understood and received a severe blow on his head from a certain Mr. Robinson that caused Otis' insanity and the wearing of a strait jacket.

I appreciate your style of writing.

R. K.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Anti-Racist Defense Guards

From all parts of the country and all sections of the Negro, labor and liberal movements, demands are being raised for action by the Truman administration to apprehend and punish the bomb-killers of Harry T. Moore, Florida official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

These demands are necessary and correct. If the forces of Ku Kluxism and fascist reaction can get away unpunished for this murder, no Negro leader, no labor organizer, no liberal spokesman in the South will feel safe and every progressive cause in the country will suffer a severe setback.

But such demands alone are inadequate. The government has received them before in similar outrages; sometimes it goes through the motions of making an "investigation"; invariably, nothing effective or concrete is accomplished.

That is why two other measures are dictated by the present situation: 1. The formation of defense guards. 2. The organization of mass demonstrations expressing the indignation and fury of the American people.

When Jewish synagogues were first bombed in Miami, Jewish veterans spontaneously proposed the creation of defense guards to protect their buildings of worship. Their leaders squelched the idea, expressing confidence in the authorities. Their confidence has proved to be sadly misplaced.

The Negro people have even less reason to put a shred of confidence in the police. In the Groveland frameup, which Harry T. Moore was killed for opposing, it was the head of the police who personally shot down two manacled Negro youth, killing one and almost killing the other; the state authorities patted him on the back. To expect the police to protect Negroes would be as foolish as having expected Hitler to protect Jews.

The labor movement, the Negro people and the Jewish people have common interests in stopping the reign of terror. They can and should defend those common interests by banding together and forming defense guards to actively protect their leaders, and their right to live and struggle for a better life. Anything less than this will only invite a worsening of the status quo.

Simultaneously, the labor, Negro and Jewish groups throughout the country should back up their demands for federal action against the terrorists by calling mass demonstrations in every big city to serve notice on the government, the killers wearing cops' badges and the throwers of the bombs that the American people will tolerate no more racist violence and that they will not rest until it is stopped and all who are responsible for it are properly punished for their crimes.

Bring Korea GIs Home!

Whatever else may result from the truce talks at Panmunjom, these negotiations have produced incontestable evidence that the Korean war is a CIVIL WAR in which Koreans, both North and South, are fighting for national liberation and national unification against the armed intervention of Washington and its puppet Syngman Rhee regime.

The factual evidence to which we refer, is contained in the exchange of prisoner lists, in the "discrepancies" each side has found in the lists drawn up by the other side, and in the ensuing explanations. Involved are some 100,000 South Koreans, admittedly taken by both sides as prisoners of war, but no longer listed as such by either side. And for diametrically opposite reasons.

The lists submitted by the Chinese fail to account for some 40,000 to 50,000 South Koreans. Taken prisoners, these men have been "indoctrinated." They were then trusted with arms and sent to the front lines. Adm. Libby says that these South Korean soldiers have seen "front line duty with the 6th, 7th and 8th Corps of the North Korean Army." There was evidently no hesitation in arming these ex-prisoners and also in incorporating them by the thousands in the North Korean crack military formations.

Now observe the glaring contrast on the U.S. side. Prisoner lists originally submitted by the U.S. command included "more than 37,000 South Koreans originally held in the stockades with Chinese and North Korean soldiers" (**N.Y. Times** Dec. 23). There is no claim that these prisoners had been armed and are now fighting for Syngman Rhee. Nothing could be further from the thoughts of the American militarists than to trust these men, let alone place arms in their hands again.

Instead they have simply been "screened out" at the last moment and "reclassified." No explanation has been forthcoming for this sudden change in their status. Was it in order to hand them over for "indoctrination" to Syngman Rhee's execution squads? The U.S. command has done this before in Korea and is unquestionably ready to do it again.

At all events, these 100,000 South Koreans, of whom roughly one-half were captured by each side, provide striking proof as to which side the mass of the Korean people really support.

The question naturally arises: what purpose can a truce serve in Korea? Suppose a foreign power had intervened on the side of the slavocracy in our own Civil war, as so many among the British ruling circles advocated at the time. Would a truce, then, have been acceptable to the American people? On the contrary, the universal demand would have been for the foreign interventionists to get out and stay out.

This same demand applies with even greater force in the case of Korea where the dividing line between the North and the South is wholly artificial, drawn not by the Korean people themselves, but behind their backs by Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta. Let there be an end to the atrocity of Korea. Withdraw the U.S. troops!

National UAW Problems Pose Unity Need on Program in Flint

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Dec. 14 — Since the last UAW convention, three groups have emerged in the Flint General Motors locals. The largest caucus is gathered around the regional director, Bob Carter, with sizable forces in all locals including the administration of his home local A. C. Sparkplug 651.

Carter has been on the Flint City Commission for several years. From this vantage point he has conducted several progressive campaigns which have identified him as the outstanding labor representative on the commission. He led the recent fight for a city FEPC law which won for him the full support of the Negro community. He was in the forefront of the struggle for public housing and against increases in the bus fare. These actions, independent of his union position, won him a large following in the UAW. But it must also be recorded that his administration of the Flint UAW region is rated highly.

GOOD RECORD

Many unionists consider Carter's administration to be the best in the history of the region. He is responsive to the wishes of the membership. With little or no pressure he invariably reacts militantly. Carter has authorized a number of strikes over speedup and wage disputes. With mounting layoffs, he activated "bread and butter" committees in each local. These committees organized the largest protest mass meeting in several years in behalf of the 12,000 unemployed in Flint.

In contrast to these actions is Carter's persistent refusal to commit himself on the issue of Reuther and his program. More advanced workers recognize that Reuther's program is the greatest obstacle to the union. From the convention in April 1951 till the present day Carter has straddled this issue. He has stated repeatedly, "I am not pro-Reuther or anti-Reuther, I am for a union program."

DODGE REUTHER ISSUE

The Flint regional director's reputation as a progressive has influenced many officials who at the last convention were in the anti-Reuther camp. They have seized upon Carter's formula as a pretext for avoiding conflict in their own locals with the Reutherites. The regional director has been able to dodge the Reuther issue, until now, in spite of great pressure exerted upon him by the Chevrolet local union leadership led by Coburn Walker.

It is this local and leadership that has been a consistent thorn in the side of the Reutherites since the proposed Ford Pension Plan over two years ago. Chevrolet has the reputation today of being one of the most obstinate anti-Reuther locals. After Ford 600 joined the opposition, Chevrolet played a less dominant but not a less active role in the opposition to the international bureaucracy.

Linked as Chevrolet is to Ford 600, it was only natural for the Chevrolet leadership to press forward the Ford program, adapted to fit the needs of GM workers. This program is the most serious attempt on the part of the opposition leadership to clarify for themselves and their supporters the immediate and long range demands around which they hope to build a national opposition group.

The program calls for a struggle to maintain and extend inner union democracy. Industry-wide bargaining to put an end to industry-wide speed-ups, is a primary point in the long document which calls for wage increases, a more effective escalator clause, a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. The program recognizes the danger of government regulation of the unions. The clause on political action is a step in the right direction. It calls for an independent political policy based on labor and by labor. It is not clear that the opposition leadership means a labor party since it is not spelled out in detail. High on the list is raising unemployment compensation to $60 a week.

Armed with these ideas Walker and his administration do not fear to come to grips with the Reuther forces in the local or elsewhere.

AVOID CONFLICT

The conflict between Walker and Carter does not result from programmatic disagreement. It follows from a series of minor clashes in the Flint CIO council over posts for the supporters of Walker and Carter. Carter's silence on the Reuther program is a source of irritation to the more vocal opposition leaders. However they are willing to wait and permit Carter to develop a more forceful position on this question. Even though a third group headed by Terrel Thompson split away from Walker, and is credited as being a Carter formation in the local, the opposition does not wish to come in conflict with the Carter administration.

Formation of the Thompson group was poorly timed coming just prior to Walker's presentation of the Ford program to the local membership. The differences between Walker and Reuther were brought into sharp focus. While the Reutherites fought the program as best they could the Thompson group abstained from debate. Walker's position carried with a huge majority. However, Walker is faced with an uphill climb if he must contend with the opposing groups.

The Chevrolet leadership is well aware of this development. They have come to realize that ideas must win for them what they formerly won by having a broad rank and file machine in the plant. The Walker caucus has given every indication that it intends to carry the program not only to the Chevrolet membership but to all UAW workers in the city. They hope that sufficient support for the program will head off an unprincipled combination of the two groups in Chevrolet.

Before Walker presented his program to the Chevrolet membership there appeared to be no real differences between him and Carter. Now it remains to be seen what stand Carter will take on the issues raised by the Chevrolet local. Carter and his supporters will find it very difficult to straddle or ignore them.

It is the hope of all serious-minded unionists that a solid opposition to Reuther can be built. In a consistent struggle for achievement of the Ford Program it would be a serious error to permit personalities to stand in the way of the best interests of the Flint auto workers.

Political 'Independence' Fakers

By Ralph Bell

Independent political action is such an obvious need today that virtually no labor leader dares oppose it. In fact, the idea is so popular that they all espouse it. The CIO is for it. The AFL is for it. The Stalinists are for it. They all have created "independent" political formations to further their expressed aims. But in their mouths "independent political action" covers a multitude of sins.

The CIO Political Action Committee leaders warn that 1952 will see a showdown fight between "progress and reaction." They propose to defeat reaction by leading the forces of progress in support of "candidates and programs, regardless of party affiliation, that will advance the public welfare."

The AFL Labor's League for Political Education announces its determination to "halt and reverse" the present reactionary political trend. "We are going to stay independent," says AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany. And how will they do that? "We will support candidates for public office who deserve our support, we will oppose candidates who have earned our opposition," he solemnly affirms.

THE RUBBISH HEAP

For both the CIO and AFL leaders, "independent political action" turns out to be the process of picking over the Democratic and Republican rubbish heap for "suitable" material. The only thing "independent" about this policy of supporting capitalist party candidates is the label that they attach to it.

And what of the Stalinist-sponsored Progressive Party? It would appear that the sole justification for the organization of a "third party" would be to conduct "independent political action." The Stalinists are merciless in their denunciation of the labor leaders for "clinging to their bankrupt two-party line." They are equally impassioned in their advocacy of "independent" political action. But woe unto the Communist Party member who takes the words of the leaders too literally. For that, in the lexicon of Stalinism, would constitute "left opportunism" of the worst order.

"ANY" CANDIDATE

The essence of Stalinist policy in the Progressive Party is to find candidates, regardless of party label, who will agree to mouth their current "peace" slogans as part of the Kremlin's "peace" offensive. In reporting the PP national committee meeting in Minneapolis last summer, the **Daily Worker**, Aug. 20, headlined the story: "Progressives Would Back Any Peace Candidate." National Secretary C. B. Baldwin is quoted as saying: "We haven't decided yet; we may support an independent candidate if one should appear, just so he is dedicated to peace and security."

To eliminate the possibility of any misunderstanding the Sunday **Worker**, Aug. 27, roundup report of the meeting reiterated that the "Progressive Party made it clear it would support independent Democrats and Republicans," who will "heed the call for peace." For many reasons, it is much more difficult for the Stalinists than for the labor bureaucrats to put over the line of supporting "friends" among the Democrats and Republicans. While the labor leaders are able to get by with cruder methods of deception the Stalinists have been compelled to raise the art of double-talk to a science.

The job of selling the line was handed to a master of Stalinist jargon, the CP "theoretician," Alexander Bittelman. Discussing the possible political effects of the breakup of the United Labor Policy Committee, Bittelman warned in the September **Political Affairs**:

"It is not at all excluded that the Murray-Reuther-Potofsky clique may begin to dangle before the labor movement the idea of a new party, a labor party, in order to beat the Green-Tobin-Meany clique in the AFL in the treacherous game of who serves best the monopolies and their political parties." Irony itself stands disarmed before such ponderous drivel.

The danger to "independent political action" that Bittelman warns against is that the CIO leaders might "dangle" the idea of a Labor Party before the labor movement. What manner of 'Marx ism' is this? The 'idea' of a Labor Party is based upon a break with the capitalist two-party system. The unions are the mass organizations of the working class. Any "independent" party worthy of the name would have to be based on these mass organizations. Therefore, if the leaders of CIO, representing five million organized workers, "dangled" the idea of a Labor Party it would, according to Bittelman, represent merely a treacherous "clique" maneuver in the "game of who best serves the monopolies and their parties."

REAL SIGNIFICANCE

The launching of an Independent Labor Party would be the most gigantic step forward in the history of the American labor movement. It would herald the approach of a deepgoing social crisis. An independent labor party would inevitably lead to a struggle for power between capital and labor. It would demolish the fake two-party system of American politics and substitute a genuine two-party conflict based on class interests. It would eliminate forever the political shell game that now is cloaked in the deception of "independent political action."

If there is anything upon which the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists agree it is on their opposition to the formation of a genuine Independent Labor Party. The real purpose for the formation of the CIO-PAC, AFL Labor League and Stalinist Progressive Party is to head off the development of independent working class political action and to divert the sentiment for an Independent Labor Party into the sterile stream of the capitalist party system.

We shall examine the reason for this in our next article.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF FI ANALYZES FINAL CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM

By George Clarke

"The final crisis of world capitalism" is the extremely appropriate title of the **sixty-four page** November-December issue of **Fourth International**, now off the press. The resolutions and reports of the Third World Congress of the Fourth International to which the contents of this special number are entirely devoted, charts the social geography of this crisis from its sources and trends to its probable outcome.

Representatives of the Trotskyist movement from some thirty countries who gathered in Switzerland last summer considered the problems of a world in the throes of transformation. The system of capitalism has entered a stage of irreversible decline. One-fourth of the earth torn out of the realm of exploitation for profit. Colonial revolutions spreading from continent to continent, encompassing the vast majority of the human race, undermining the once powerful empires, shaking the imperialist countries to their foundations, confronting them as well with the oncoming social revolution. The problems discussed by the Third World Congress of the Fourth International were in effect those which arose from the growing actuality of the 100-year old prediction of Marx and Engels on the final outcome of the struggle between capital and labor.

GREAT CONTRIBUTION

The great contribution of this Congress — as the reader of **Fourth International** will quickly recognize —was that it pierced the fog of confusion, uncertainty and fear which inevitable surrounds such titanic class battles. It dug into the social roots of the two camps which face one another from the opposite sides of the "cold war." It analyzed the principal economic and political forces driving world capitalism into a new global conflict. It sharply contrasted the nature of the wars in the past with the one that is impending. Then an imperialist conflict carried forth on the back of a prostrated, deceived workers' movement. Tomorrow, unless stopped by the world-wide revolutionary tide itself, a counter-revolutionary crusade by reactionary imperialism quickly becoming an international civil war.

The eruption of the Chinese Revolution, the Korean war, the smoldering social volcano in the Middle East — all of these events find their place in the masterful analysis presented by the Fourth International Congress. They do not appear as separate, disturbing convulsions, but as part of the stream of history now rushing toward socialism.

ROLE OF STALINISM

The role and function of Stalinism in this process is made unambiguously clear. Clarified in the light of the events in Yugoslavia and China it is revealed as a temporary formation born in the stagnant waters of defeat and reaction and not as a new historic force.

The resolutions and reports demonstrate the progressive nature of the social transformations in Eastern Europe and of the national liberation of China. But they also indicate how the very breakdown of capitalism, its replacement by new social forms, is not the source of new strength for the Soviet bureaucracy, contrary to appearances. It is the basis of an irreparable crisis in Stalinism which parallels and is produced by the crisis of capitalism.

These are but the broad outlines of the problems which came under the purview of the Congress and are dealt with in the current number of the magazine. Lack of space prevents us from elaborating its contents any further. We can only indicate how rewarding a study awaits the reader of the November-December issue of **Fourth International**.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 8

THE MERCHANTS DESERT

By Harry Frankel

The big merchants of New England began to shy away from the revolutionary movement right after the people showed their power in the Stamp Act demonstrations of 1765. By 1770, this retreat of the merchants had become a rout.

They had barely been dragged into the boycott movement of 1767-70, in protest against the Townshend taxes. Now however, the British had been compelled to repeal the Townshend Acts, and the merchants left the movement, many of thm never to return. The New York merchants left first, smashing the non-importation agreement, and the merchants throughout the colonies followed suit.

Marxists have always called the American Revolution a "capitalist" revolution. This means that the Revolution put the American capitalist class in power, and accomplished many things that the capitalist class needed to have done. It unified the colonies, ended all of the restrictions on the growth of capitalism, set up a government that would protect capitalist property, and so forth.

But when we call this revolution a capitalist revolution, that does not mean that the capitalists themselves led this revolution, or even that a majority of the capitalist class supported it. As a matter of fact, the revolution was mainly made by other classes. It was even made against the will of the majority of the capitalist class of that day, the merchant capitalists. They later stepped in and picked up the ripe fruit after others had uprooted the tree.

The Cowardice of the Capitalist Class

If we glance at the history of other capitalist revolutions, we see much the same line of development. For example, in the French Revolution, the capitalist class, early in the game, was so frightened by the popular upheaval that it tried to hold the Revolution back. Most of the wealthiest and powerful capitalists and their spokesmen went over to the counter-revolution. It should not surprise us to find that, in the American Revolution, the capitalist class was too timid, too conservative, too fearful of the masses, to take the lead. The capitalist revolution triumphed despite the cowardice and treachery of the capitalists.

Most of the merchant class deserted Sam Adams and the radicals in 1770. Only a very few radical merchants remained supporting them. Later on, when the decisive battles approached and the radicals appeared to have great strength, a part of the merchant class, a minority part, came back into the fight. But a new movement and a new leadership had been built in the years between.

When the merchants deserted the struggle in this period, Adams remarked that they had held out longer than he had expected, but that in the future, the movement would have to base itself upon the workers and farmers, or, as he phrased it, "those two venerable orders styled mechanics and husbandmen."

Among the merchant-deserters of the opposition movement was the famous John Hancock. Hancock was a very wealthy young merchant, one of the richest in the colonies, who got his money in an inheritance from a childless uncle. Sam Adams picked him up in the course of his work among the younger generation; Adams delved continually among the youth, and brought up a whole cadre of young revolutionists with his own hand.

Hancock was an asset to the radicals, being wealthy, and at the same time quite popular. But he was a source of constant anxiety to Sam Adams. He was inordinately vain, a limelight seeker, the very opposite of Adams. He was uncertain in his politics, a strutting popinjay who deserted in the hard days, a self-seeker who placed personal whims above the needs of the movement. Adams had to deal with Hancock with the greatest of tact, in order to get some good out of him.

It is one of the rank injustices of history, that Hancock's name is known today to every schoolboy, while that of his teacher and leader, who made something of a man of him, and gave him his place in history, is covered over with obscurity.

In the hard days of 1770-72, Hancock deserted and split the radical camp, taking with him a "moderate" wing, which he led in a number of battles against Adams. The radicals found themselves reduced to a small grouping. Sam Adams himself had great difficulty winning his seat in the legislature. The radical wing lost its predominant position in almost all governmental bodies, outside of the Boston town meeting, and even here its position was shaky.

The "Lull" in the Radical Movement

This is the period of the so-called "lull" in the revolutionary movement, caused by the desertion of the merchants. Most capitalist historians, finding that nothing spectacular occurred during this two-year period, tend to skip over it. This is an error. During these years, processes which went on beneath the surface, although not spectacular, were essential for the later success of the Revolution.

It was pointed out earlier that Sam Adams attempted to lead the opposition movement into an insurrection against Britain in the latter part of 1768, at the time of the Massachusetts Convention, and that he found this impossible and had to back down. The year of the "lull" were the very years during which Adams did his great work to supply the missing elements, the absence of which had prevented revolution in 1768.

He worked to raise the popular understanding, particularly among the farmers, to build a mass revolutionary organization independent of the weak-kneed merchants, and to link up the Massachusetts opposition with a nationwide movement.

The revolutionary press widened its circulation. **The Boston Gazette**, Adams' chief newspaper, had grown to over 2,000 circulation. And, in 1770, a new radical paper, the **Massachusetts Spy**, was founded, and soon sold about 3,500 copies of each issue. These circulations were immense in colonial times. Before the crisis, the four papers in Boston had an average circulation of about 600 each.

These papers, and particularly the new **Massachusetts Spy**, penetrated the farming regions, and educated the people in radical principles. Revolutions do not consist exclusively of spectacular events, as most historians seem to think. This slow educational process, going on over a period of years, stored up the future power of the Revolution.

Sam Adams As a Journalist

The most popular and able journalist of the revolutionary movement was Sam Adams. His printed words had a great capacity to teach and inspire.

He was capable of a cold ferocity when it suited the occasion. Governor Bernard, the top crown official in the colony, would wince when he read Sam Adams. "Every dip of his pen," he wailed, "stung like a horned snake." Another leading Tory, speaking of Adams' famous articles on the Boston Massacre, said: "And bitter reading they were, for they were Wrote with a Pen dipped in the Gall of Asps."

Adams wrote articles that convinced by their iron logic, by the manner in which they surrounded the matter under discussion from all sides. By bringing to bear arguments from all possible angles, he instilled in the reader an abiding conviction that the radical cause was just. His pen could also be "genteel and artful," as his cousin John Adams testified.

In addition, Sam Adams was famed as an excellent editor, adept at cutting, revising, polishing. A young follower, Josiah Quincy, said of many articles, petitions, resolutions, etc., that they had been "smoothed over with the oily brush of Sam Adams."

There is a proverb: "The pen is mightier than the sword." This should not be taken too literally in all cases. But, during this time of preparation, during the "slow" years when the conciliators and Tories held the upper hand, Sam Adams' pen did work that would have been impossible for ten thousand swords. It made the revolution in the minds of men. When that kind of a revolution is made, the rest follows naturally. But a revolution of the sword without the pen, without the conviction in the minds of men, is an adventure, doomed to failure.

During these years, Sam Adams was also busy as an organizer, not only as a journalist. He worked to assemble the best radicals into a solid organization, and to extend that organization throughout New England and the other colonies. His success in this endeavor was of equal importance to his journalistic success.

(Next Week: The New Party.)

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

Not by Running Away

By Jean Blake

A dramatic protest against American second class citizenship for Negroes was made last week by a 28-year-old veteran of World War II who announced his intention to repudiate his American citizenship: "I want to sever all relationships right now. I want no waiting."

The statement was made by Lee Prettyman in the offices of the Cleveland Call and Post, where he displayed a letter addressed to the United States Attorney General in Washington and to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Federal Building, Cleveland.

Explaining his action, Prettyman said: "The constitution was never written for Negroes of the United States. The civil rights amendment eases but does not remedy the well-worn phrase 'The Negro Problem.' I was born a Negro, and as a Negro I am automatically relegated to second-class citizenship."

Identifying himself with the World Citizens group organized in Paris by Garry Davis, a white American, Prettyman said they stand for "the abolition of war, for the elimination of segregation and discrimination, and for real progress."

Not many people will dispute the young man's statement of the status of the Negro in the United States, nor his desire for a world free of wars, discrimination and obstacles to progress. His contempt for the "blessings of American democracy" may provide a jolt for the smug complacency of those who consider this country the beacon of the "free world."

But Prettyman's proposed course of action will neither change the status of the Negro in America, nor even that of the young man attempting to escape it. For one thing, the mass of Negro workers and their families are in no position to follow the example of Prettyman and head for Paris. Most of them can't even leave the South, let alone North America.

But more important is the fact that there is no road to freedom and progress other than through struggle, and Prettyman's course is an attempt to flee from the struggle. The battle against Jim Crow must be fought and won right here in America. This is the source of the disease and this is where it must be cured.

The effective way to oppose second-class citizenship is not to surrender America to the capitalist white supremacists who rule it, but to challenge that rule, to organize for struggle the masses of Negroes together with the white workers who are also victims of the common enemy.

Prettyman and others, Negro and white, who are overwhelmed by the apparent might of the American ruling class and feel powerless to struggle against it, should examine more carefully the sources of that might — and they'll uncover the weakness that it conceals. They will see that the real strength of America is its powerful productive forces which are constantly beating against the confining walls of the economic system that decrees there shall be no production, no progress, unless the capitalist minority who own the means of production can maintain their profits and privileges.

But these powerful productive forces, and the working class that has grown to tremendous proportions with them, cannot be confined much longer. Large sections of world capitalism have already collapsed. In Europe, South America and Africa, capitalist rule is maintained only by the arms and aid of the last stronghold of the capitalist system, the United States. In Asia we see the masses taking matters into their own hands to destroy the old society and build a new one.

But it is here at home, in America, that we can see the fatal weakness of world capitalism. It is upon this country that world capitalism depends for the strength to maintain itself throughout the world. But it can only be done at the expense of the American working class by driving down their standard of living and removing the last vestiges of political democracy and freedom.

And that is what spells its doom. That is what will finally rouse the American working class giant to shake off its shackles — its prejudices that keep it divided, its misleaders and traitors — and to take its destiny in its own hands to build a socialist society of production for use, not profit.

Where Will It All End?

By Patricia Stall

Every year at this time the post office is swamped with applications for temporary work. The Christmas rush means more jobs for people who can qualify to help with postal work. This year the qualifications for employment have been broadened in such a manner as to sound a warning bell for everybody concerned with preserving civil liberties. Perhaps it sounds innocent: "postal inspectors in Detroit finished the first week of a drive to prevent undesirables from getting on the post-office's payroll." Undesirables — that can cover a lot of territory.

Two persons being prosecuted for lying and concealing information on application forms are young teachers. They claimed to be unemployed while actually they were employed by the city. This makes them eligible for five-year prison terms and $10,000 fines. On the face of it they have done somthing illegal — they lied, they were caught, they are going to be punished. But their punishment, as prescribed by law, is greater than that given for stealing mail.

Two others who will be put on trial for concealing information are a man who is facing a narcotics charge and another who is facing a non-support warrant. It was illegal for them to apply for work because they will be put on trial for crimes utterly unconnected with postal work, crimes for which they have not yet been found guilty. The post office authorities have already decided their guilt — without benefit of trial or jury. Any ex-law breaker, any potential law-breaker is not fit for part time employment, so say the postal authorities.

Two others will be tried because they had violated their probation at Recorder's Court and had the audacity to want a job while doing so. Not only will they miss out on the job but they have the prospect of five years in prison and a fine of $10,000 staring them in the face. It would seem that criminals had better keep on robbing and killing to make a living—efforts to get honest employment bring them only fines and imprisonment

So far 11 persons have been held for concealing "facts of their personal history." That's another far-reaching phrase that could be interpreted to mean anything the postal authorities want it to mean. What could be "undesirable" in your "facts of personal history"? Have you run thru a red light? Did you get a ticket for walking on the grass in the public park? Have you been complaining about the new tax laws? Did you attend a public meeting of some socialist party? The government thinks all of these things are undesirable. Where is the line going to be drawn between one undesirable fact and another?

You haven't got a government job? What's all this got to do with you or your neighbor or the guy down the street that you say hello to every morning? Just think this over: The postal authorities have already checked through and hired their needed 10,000 extra workers. They are now cheking the application forms of all 25,000 who applied for temporary employment — regardless of whether they were hired or not! Where does that leave their avowed reason for this campaign — that they were doing it just to "prevent undesirables" from getting on the post office payroll? It leaves their reasons in the same place that the government officials in Washington park theirs when they fire and intimidate government workers without the guarantees of trial by jury and all the other rights and privileges that are supposedly guaranteed Americans in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

Too often the startling facts of police state methods that are being employed today just seem to be only that — startling. Many times they fail to really enter the consciousness of those who hear about them. But they all need a second look, a second thought, a little awareness of totalitarian encroachments on personal liberties so that the next stages can be foreseen. They started by indicting revolutionary socialists, continued to winnow out Stalinists and fellow travelers, the liberals are under fire now — then this story comes out. "Undesirables" are not wanted. The "facts of personal history" must be examined and weighed carefully. Where are the lines being drawn today? Where will it all end?

First U.S. Witch Hunt

By John F. Petrone

The Bill of Rights went into effect on Dec. 15, 1791. Less than seven years later, in the summer of 1798, Congress controlled by the conservative Federalist party, set out to nullify and destroy those rights with the adoption of the Alien and Sedition Acts. This, the first federal witch hunt in the United States, affords so many parallels with the current government-inspired assaults on civil liberties that the American people would benefit considerably from becoming better acquainted with its history and lessons. The publication of a new book on this subject, probably the most complete treatment yet printed, is therefore a welcome thing, both to fighters against the witch hunt and students of American history. (CRISIS IN FREEDOM: The Alien and Sedition Acts, by John C. Miller. Little, Brown, 1951, 253 pp.)

In 1798 the Federalists seized on the diplomatic difficulties they were having with the revolutionary French government, whose power was spreading all over Europe, in order to justify the enactment of four repressive laws, ostensibly aimed against aliens and sedition, but actually designed to gag and cripple their political opponents, the Republicans headed by Vice-President Thomas Jefferson. At the same time the Federalists, headed by President John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, began to prepare for war against the French, whose democratic tendencies they were determined to prevent from spreading in the United States.

Then, as now, the government pushed through thought-control laws to perpetuate the rule of the party in power and to wipe out opposition to reactionary foreign policies and war preparations. Then, as now, they hid behind the pretext of a "war danger" to whip up hysteria against their American opponents as agents of a foreign power, to hound the foreign-born (most of whom supported the Republicans), to suppress critical newspapers, to imprison those who refused to be gagged. Even opposition to the new laws on the grounds of civil liberties was regarded as a sign of subversion, a member of Congress was imprisoned, and repressive action was considered against the entire Virginia legislature and the governor of Kentucky. Madison correctly observed that if the Sedition Act had been in effect during the American Revolution, the U.S. might have remained "miserable colonies, groaning under a foreign yoke."

In the end the Federalist witch hunt was defeated, the Alien and Sedition Acts playing an important part in their loss of power in the election of 1800. When Jefferson was elected president he allowed the acts to lapse and released the victims still in prison. Although the Republicans committed some tactical blunders in the way they fought the acts, the people never favored these measures. (Miller has no proof whatever for implying that the American people "consented" to them.) Opposition grew steadily, especially after it became clear that the French were not seeking war with the U.S. at all. (The Federalists wanted war, but delayed it in the hope that the French would start it — delayed it until they lost the opportunity.) In 1798 the Republicans had the support of less than 20 newspapers out of 200; two years later Jefferson was backed by more than 50 papers.

"Lock Jaw Federalism," as they called the gag acts, provided valuable ammunition for the Republicans, but it was not the civil liberties issue alone that led to the downfall of the Federalists. Miller quotes Jefferson as making an acute observation in November, 1798: "The disease of the imagination will pass over, because the patients are essentially Republicans. Indeed, the Doctor is now on his way to cure it, in the guise of a tax gatherer." This was a reference to the costs of the Federalists' war preparations, which led to new taxes on houses, slaves and land, a stamp duty and higher customs duties. "The burden of these taxes created more resentment against the Federalists than did the Alien and Sedition Acts," Miller briefly states. It is unfortunate that he did not devote more space and research to this aspect of the problem, which has special application to the present situation. People who despair today about the chances of stopping the witch hunters should never forget that the government's anti-labor economic policies are going to produce a powerful resistance to the regime that will effectively promote the defeat of the thought-controllers.

U. of Minnesota Students Protest Firing of Prof

Academic freedom was dealt a blow at the University of Minnesota, as witch hunters purged Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins of the Philosophy Department. Wiggins, the only Negro on the faculty, is a vice-president of the Minnesota section of the Progressive Party.

The dismissal of Dr. Wiggins, effective at the end of the college year, called forth protests by students representing 20 campus organizations and by faculty members. Students started circulating petitions and appeared before the Board of Regents in a vain attempt to get the popular instructor reinstated. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union (AFL) has called for an investigation of the firing.

Wiggins became the number one target for the academic witch hunters last spring when he gave a speech in a student-sponsored symposium entitled "Conflict in the Social Order." When the appropriation bill for the university was before the Minnesota Legislature, red-baiters put a copy of that speech on every legislator's desk. University heads were given to understand that the desired funds would not be forthcoming unless they agreed to fire Wiggins.

William Nunn, director of university relations, told the head of Wiggins' department that the outspokenness of the instructor was "embarrassing the university, particularly in the legislature." Nunn promised to "get rid" of this "embarrassment."

HYPOCRITICAL CLAIM

Despite the political background of the case, the university heads hypocritically claim that Wiggins' dismissal had nothing to do with his political views but that he had been dismissed for "incompetence." This is flatly contradicted by the faculty of the Philosophy Department which unanimously endorsed Wiggins' competence and protested his firing.

Professor George P. Conger, head of the Philosophy Department, has taken the lead among faculty members in fighting for Wiggins' re-instatement and is preparing to carry the case to the American Association of University Professors. Surveys show that the dismissed instructor, who was on the faculty for six years before his "incompetency" was suddenly discovered, was ranked by students as an excellent and popular teacher.

While the president of the university and his right hand men were vigorously denying that politics had entered into their considerations in firing Wiggins, three witch-hunting legislators publicly congratulated the university administration and revealed that they had urged the dismissal.

William Brust, president of the Marxian Socialist Club at the university, issued the following statement: "Dr. Wiggins is in no way connected with the Marxian Socialist Club. Nonetheless, we protest his dismissal as a duty incumbent upon all those who hate thought-control in any form.

"The dismissal of Forrest Wiggins is a serious blow at academic freedom. In view of his six-year record as a thinker and a teacher no one can take seriously the allegation that Dr. Wiggins' discharge is a result of professional incompetency. Everyone on campus knows that his dismissal is politically motivated.

"Far more than the fate of an individual is involved. The intellectual integrity of the university has been challenged. Academic freedom itself is at stake here.

"We believe that an aroused student body and faculty will come to the defense of Dr. Wiggins and thereby strike a mighty blow at the forces of intolerance on our campus."

Hits Purge

GRACE CARLSON

Grace Carlson Asks Reinstating Of Dr. Wiggins

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 22 — Grace Carlson, Minnesota organizer of the Socialist Workers Party and proposed SWP candidate for Vice-President in the 1952 election, last week demanded the reinstatement of Dr. Forrest Wiggins to the position from which he had been purged at the University of Minnesota. In a wire to the University Board of Regents, she said:

"I have never met Dr. Forrest Wiggins personally but through his speeches and writings, I have known him to be an outstanding champion of civil rights of all people. Every true supporter of the Bill of Rights who knows that Dr. Wiggins has been discriminated against because of his political and social views believes that he should be reinstated in his regular position at the University of Minnesota with full academic honors.

"Unless the Board of Regents acts favorably, a terrible blot will be left on the University record on academic freedom."

Buffalo IUE Local Wins Victory at Westinghouse

BUFFALO, Dec. 22 — The six thousand striking workers of the Cheektowaga plant of the Westinghouse Corporation chalked up a substantial victory following a bitter 11-week struggle. The victory of the workers, represented by Local 1581 IUE-CIO, was especially significant in view of the fact that the struggle was conducted by one single local against a giant multi-million dollar corporation whose other 50 plants throughout the country were operating during the period of the strike.

The strike was forced upon the union by company demands for abrogation of vital seniority and upgrading rights which the local had won in the course of several years conflict with the company. This was the principal issue in the strike. There were several other issues which also contributed to the union's final decision to call the Sept. 22nd walkout. One of these was the company's practice of imposing a three-day layoff for workers in a department where so-called "illegal" work stoppage had occurred. Another was the discharge of a department steward on a trumped-up charge of insubordination. The company had, in addition, continually violated the grievance procedure outlined in the union contract. An issue which arose during the course of the strike was the discharge of a negotiating committeeman accused by the company of sprinkling nails in the supervisors' parking lot at the plant.

SETTLEMENT RATIFIED

The strike settlement was unanimously ratified at a huge membership meeting of the local last Sunday. It contains a series of provisions relating to seniority and job upgrading which is substantially what the union wanted. The company agreed to the reinstatement of the negotiating committeeman who had been discharged and further agreed to arbitrate the case of the department steward who had been fired for "insubordination." Under the terms of the agreement, the company was also compelled to eliminate the three-day layoff penalty for so-called "illegal" work stoppages.

The strike had started with mass picket lines covering all the gates of the huge plant. When, however, it became clear that the company had decided upon a long and protracted struggle, the picket lines began to dwindle. The company then embarked upon a series of strike-breaking assaults. It launched a barrage of newspaper advertisements which called upon the workers to repudiate the local leadership and return to work. By this time the union leadership realized that extraordinary measures had to be taken to save the strike.

The local officials decided to call an emergency executive board meeting. This meeting released a statement which declared that the "union was in its greatest peril." The statement was a frank and blunt declaration that the company was out to bust the union, and that unless the membership rallied to support the union and the strike, a disaster for all the workers would be inevitable. A mass meeting of the membership was called. Contrary to the misgivings of many of the leading unionists, as well as international representatives and union officials, the meeting was a resounding success, as witnessed by the tremendous turnout of union members. A policy statement calling for a continuation of the strike was enthusiastically endorsed, with only one dissenting vote.

The company, however, was apparently not convinced by this demonstration. The next several weeks saw a continuation of its scab-herding and strikebreaking activities. All during the preceding period, the company continued its expensive advertisements in both capitalist dailies, radio spot announcements ,and an unending stream of letters to the strikers, charging that the union leadership was "arrogant," "irresponsible" and did not represent the union membership, which the company claimed "was most anxious to go back to work" on company terms. It is reported that management felt so cocky that it virtually dared the union leadership to call another mass meeting, convinced that it would be repudiated.

The union leadership took up the challenge of the corporation and called another mass meeting, at which it planned to ask for a vote of confidence and the continuation of the strike until victory. This mass meeting took place at the close of the ninth week of the strike. It was twice the size of the previous membership meeting. More than 3,500 packed the ballroom of the Statler Hotel. It was one of the largest gatherings of any local union in the history of Buffalo labor. The membership appeared more enthusiastic, more militant, and more determined than even in the first week of the strike. A resolution introduced on behalf of the officers and executive board was passed without a single dissenting vote amidst an unprecedented display of militancy and solidarity. The meeting obviously was a turning-point in the strike.

Several days later, the Federal Mediation Board, through its director, Cyrus Ching, summoned the union and the company to conferences in Washington, D.C. It was there that the company finally came to terms with the union.

Reuther, Mazey Break Strike at Ford of Canada

WINDSOR, Ontario — Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey, president and secretary-treasurer of the CIO Auto Workers, accomplished what the Ford Motor empire and the government were unable to do. They broke the militant 12-day strike of Canada's largest union local, drove the workers back to the plant with 26 rank and file leaders left out in the cold and gave the corporation a hunting license for other militants. The company has already started using the Reutherite, no bag-limit hunting license.

The strike which broke out on December third had roots going back a year. Collusion between the Ford Co. and the province of Ontario's Conciliation Department stalled settlement of contract demands over eight months. Protesting the interminable delay, the 9,000 production workers affiliated to UAW Local 200 held a demonstration. This was followed by the company's firing of 26 union activists it declared responsible for the protest.

Two hours after news got out of the victimization of the 26 the plant was closed tight by a walkout. So solid was the walkout that within 24-hours even the power-house workers — who supply utilities to the huge Ford plant — were out. Office workers took a holiday and expressed their solidarity with the strikers.

Enthusiasm for the strike was general, and overnight a complete strike apparatus with picket lines, headquarters, kitchens, picket tents, strike newspaper — what it had taken six weeks to create in the big 1945 strike — had been set up. Over 3,000 pickets were patrolling the plant gates in three hour shifts around the clock.

POWER OF STRIKE

The huge Ford plant at Windsor stood an empty and bleak testament to the power of the strike. This power was felt in the provincial capital and on the second day of the strike the Ontario Department of Labor issued its 8-month deferred conciliation report. The report was tabled at a mass meeting of the strikers pending reinstatement of the 26 discharged militants.

The profit-swollen Ford Motor Co. of Canada (it made $19,500,000 in 1950) began to show signs of weakening. President Sales issued statements complaining that the authorities had not supplied sufficient police protection. There was not one incident of violence during the whole strike.

REUTHER BREAKS STRIKE

On the ninth day of the strike Reuther and Mazey stepped into the picture. It is said that it took two days of threats and wheedling for them to persuade a majority of Local 200's executive board to turn against the walkout. Even then four members of the board refused to go for it.

UAW Regional Director, George Burt, had at first officially supported the strike and had sent letters to other locals requesting financial support. He was whipped into line by Reuther and Mazey and now proclaimed the strike "unconstitutional." Although Burt had previously told a local meeting that reinstatement of the 26 was the price of calling off the walkout and specifically urged that no one fall for "arbitration" on this issue, he now reversed his position. Local president Jack Taylor also caved in under pressure from the top UAW bureaucracy.

CAUGHT BY SURPRISE

The union leaders now tried to sell the back-to-work movement to the Shop Steward meeting. This proposal caught the stewards by surprise. The threats of Reuther and Mazey were repeated: The International was branding the strike an "outlaw;" the status of the 26 must be left up to arbitration; the international would take over the local and appoint an administrator over the locals funds, thus starving the strikers out; the International would campaign against the strikers on radio and television, isolating them from all sources of union support; rival mass meetings would be called; etc.

Despite these threats the steward meeting voted against Reuther's proposal. The stewards pointed out that to lose one case of the 26 was to lay the foundation for destruction of the entire shop steward system. One firing would intimidate all the stewards.

Reuther and Mazey's strike-breaking was completed at a mass meeting. There the split in the ranks of their own leaders plus thunderings of the International officials drove the workers back to the plant.

NAME CALLING

Reuther told the strikers they were acting against the basic principles of unionism and branded those still faithful to the demand for reinstatement of the 26 as irresponsible leaders of "wild cats." Mazey attacked the 26 discharged activists as "Mexican Generals," "irresponsibles," etc.

Ford of Canada president, Rhy Sales, delighted with Reuther and Mazey's strikebreaking immediately issued the following statement:

"When our employes return to work we know that there will still be trouble makers among them. The discharge of 26 men has by no means wiped out the lawless element in our plant. The correction of the situation is a long term job in which the company and the union must work together."

A few days later six more union members were fired for the part they had played in the strike. Whether Reuther and Mazey "worked together" with Ford president Sales on this is not yet known.

Interview with Lynn on Reynolds Case

(Continued from page 1)

police of having taken an oath to overthrow the government of Puerto Rico.

Pointing out that Smith Act convictions until now had all charged conspiracy while in the Reynolds case there was no conspiracy charge (it takes two or more legally to conspire) Lynn stated, "I consider this to be the most outrageous conviction in a civil liberties case in our time. And the government is very anxious to keep news of it from the public." Lynn also noted that "any precedents set in Puerto Rican courts have the force of precedent in U.S. courts." How ominous the Reynolds conviction is for civil liberties may be seen in the judge's statement at that trial: "If you are present at a meeting of an organization which is later adjudged subversive and you indicate support it is within the province of a jury to find you guilty of attempting to overthrow the government."

"Ruth Reynolds is firmly convinced that one of the government's motives in the trial was the suppression of her book on Puerto Rico," Mr. Lynn said. Certainly the record of her persecution while in prison gives evidence of unusual vindictiveness on the part of the authorities. At first she was put in a solitary confinement cell for 81 days. Later, when transferred to a regular cell, the window was boarded up to prevent air from circulating. An official circular of the Superintendent of Prisons in Puerto Rico prescribed special treatment of Miss Reynolds and other political prisoners.

However, instead of allowing the political prisoners better treatment, it ordered harsher treatment and less privileges for them than for ordinary prisoners. Within ten months after her arrest she had lost 37½ pounds and looked like a living skeleton. Correspondence with her is very difficult. Even correspondence with her lawyer was held up for weeks whenever it dealt with an important legal move. Recently these conditions have been mitigated by protests.

NATIONAL TOUR

Discussing the iron curtain the authorities have attempted to draw around this civil liberties case, Mr. Lynn said that the defense committee is sending him on a national speaking tour. He will speak in Toledo Jan. 3; University of Chicago Jan. 5 and 6; University of Minnesota Jan. 8 and 9; University of Wisconsin Jan. 10; Antioch Jan. 12 and 13; Wilberforce Jan. 14; Dayton, Ohio Jan. 15; Yale Jan. 18; Western Reserve Jan. 24; Oberlin Jan. 22;; Washington, D.C. Jan. 24; Pittsburgh Jan. 25; Buffalo Jan. 27; Syracuse Jan. 29.

In closing Mr. Lynn said that readers of the Militant could help in two ways. First by sending contributions to Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee, c/o Julius Eichel 769 St. Mark's Ave., Brooklyn 13, N. Y. Second, by "letting the truth be known," by spreading word of this case and thus defeating the government's campaign to hush up the brazen frame-up in Puerto Rico.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for **The Militant** is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on

New Trends in the Struggle for Negro Equality

Speaker:

GEORGE BREITMAN

Fri., Jan. 4, at 8:30

at 423 Springfield Ave.